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The Southern PATRIOT

Volume 3 | Nashville, Tennessee, March, 1945 | No. 3

WASHINGTON Is Saying
By Elizabeth Allen

Support Growing For Bretton Woods

The rosy glow of hope and enthusiasm that swept over Washington at the news of the Yalta Conference is still in the air. The promise of peace that came out of that meeting is being made into reality. The South American Conference was a good starter for the San Francisco meeting. The awareness of the Fascist danger in this hemisphere was evident and widespread, and the South American countries were determined to do something about it—specifically to quarantine Argentina so that the infection so rampant there could not spread into the rest of the hemisphere.

The Bretton Woods agreement to set up an international monetary fund to help reconstruct the countries of the world and to provide stable currencies for an expanded world trade is the first concrete piece of legislation to come before the Senate. The American Bankers Association is fighting it, but it now looks as if the necessary majority will support Bretton Woods. The Treasury is doing a most magnificent job in educating the public on the issues at stake, and has held a series of meetings here with national organizations, including the Southern Conference, to help build up public support for the agreement.

The South after the last war invested a huge amount of money in worthless foreign bonds, especially through the Chase National Bank. Certainly, we do not want to see the banking interests again take over the direction of our entire foreign loans. They make their profit on a loan whether it is good or bad, but the small country banks were left with their safes full of worthless foreign investments.

The State Department is also doing a valuable and necessary job in educating public opinion on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. The press of the country with few exceptions is likewise doing a splendid piece of work. The country seems united behind these peace proposals, but it takes two-thirds of the Senate to pass it, and a small group of men can once again wreck the people's will for peace.

(Continued on Page 4.)

Georgia Free Vote Move Spreads East and West

By John Hunt, Editor
South Carolina Federationist

The movement for repeal of the poll tax in South Carolina appears well on its way to victory at this writing. What are the forces behind it? What are its lessons for us and the rest of the South?

The bare facts are these: Without any kind of organized public pressure within the state, a resolution to call a referendum for repeal of the constitutional provision for a poll tax has been passed by the State Senate, with more than the required two-thirds majority vote. Prospects of House passage, also by the required two-thirds majority, are called excellent by politicians. Public approval of repeal in the referendum at the next general election in 1946 would enable legislative action putting it into effect at the 1947 session of the Legislature, in time for the 1948 presidential election.

ALABAMA FLASH!

Governor Sparks of Alabama is preparing to ask his State Legislature to repeal the poll tax when it convenes May 1, according to a report in the Birmingham Age-Herald on March 22. Although Sparks has not confirmed the story, political observers in the state agree that he is planning to follow the course of Georgia's Governor Arnall in response to the growing anti-poll tax sentiment in the state, voiced last month by Senator Lister Hill and Representatives Patrick, Rains and Sparkman.

The action of forces much broader and more politically fundamental than Southern liberal opinion alone is clearer here than perhaps anywhere else in the South. In Georgia, the courageous liberalism of a powerful personality, Governor Ellis Arnall, was a dominant factor. In Alabama, the influence of Senator Lister Hill and at least the rudiments of public pressure are apparent. But in South Carolina, there are no such influences, and the answer to the anti-poll tax riddle must be sought behind the scenes, in the South's relation to national and world affairs.

As best they can be seen from close at hand, these currents seem to be on two levels. One is the growth of democratic consciousness in the South, through the cumulative effect of years of liberal effort, and more important, the effect of a real war for democracy in forcing Southerners to think and act as part of a broader national and international society.

The other and more direct major influences are repercussions of the Roosevelt election victory. As surface indications, the anti-poll tax move in South Carolina is led by pro-Roosevelt forces of the last election, and by interests closely linked with the economic policies of the New Deal Administration.

Typical of the latter is the support of State Senator R. M. Jefferies, head of South Carolina's Little TVA, the Santee-Cooper Authority. The political fate of such men is bound to the policies of industrial expansion, public works, social welfare and government-regulated economy represented by the Roosevelt Administration's program.

Saving Face

The election victory of this program as materialized in the national Democratic Party machine, together with the enticing vistas opened by announced plans for post-war use of federal funds in the South, have greatly increased the prestige of "regular" Democratic forces in the South, and created among chastened opponents an accelerated tendency to jump on the bandwagon. A symbol of this compulsion is the face-saving formula unanimously used by repeal advocates: "The poll tax really doesn't have any effect on voting, but it is unnecessary and doesn't help control the racial situation: and it is certain that if we don't act, the Federal Government is going to force it down our throats".

But this plausible-sounding attitude is really only a false front. Back of the strange "voluntary" action of Southern politicians is a more practical urgency than mere face-saving preservation of the hollow shell of states' rights; something more directly connected with Southern suffrage than the simple desire of patronage-hungry politicians to ingratiate themselves by such unrelated action.

(Continued on Page 3.)

TRENDS

Fascists 'Christian' Pose Hit

The brazenly un-Christian activities of the so-called Christian American organization were scored by seventy-five Tennessee ministers this month. Condemning its use of Christian and patriotic symbols as a front for Fascist-minded crusades, the statement, by ministers from every section of the state and from many denominations, said, "As Christian ministers and teachers of religion, we condemn the use of our religion for attacks upon the legitimate organizations of working people, and as a means of weakening confidence on the part of all citizens in the instrumentalities of orderly and democratic procedures of collective bargaining, which are now part of the Federal statutes."

Florida Governor Beats Heat

Organized labor in Florida is testing the constitutionality of anti-labor amendments to the Florida constitution. Defendants named in a suit brought in the Florida courts included Governor Caldwell, Attorney General Tom Watson, and other officials.

But Governor Caldwell hastily withdrew his name from the list of defendants, protesting that he has nothing to do with enforcement of the amendment.

In this case, Caldwell appears to be a better lawyer than Watson.

Gold Is Where You Find It

"Tax the money where the money is to educate the children where the children are." With this piquant comment the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen went on record for Federal aid to education at its planning conference in Knoxville, Tennessee. The Fellowship, composed of Southern ministers and teachers of religion, laid out a progressive program for social action, promised cooperation with labor and farm agencies, endorsed cooperatives, and urged abolition of the poll tax.

Free, But Not For All

The poll tax has been lifted from the shoulders of Virginians in the armed services. In a statewide referendum on March 6, the people of Virginia voted to hold a constitutional convention to remove poll tax and personal registration requirements from service personnel.

The people of Virginia appeared ready to repeal the poll tax for all voters, and probably would have instructed the convention to abolish the tax entirely, but the Byrd political machine successfully maneuvered to restrict the referendum to the single issue of the soldier vote.

Taxation Without Representation

Joe C. Luther, Dallas attorney and member of the State Democratic Executive Committee, accompanied by two veterans wounded in the Normandy invasion, recently appeared before the Texas Senate Committee on Constitutional Amendments in behalf of a constitutional amendment to permit young men and women 18 years of age to vote.

At the Senate Committee hearing Luther declared that if the 18-year-olds are old enough to pay income tax and fight, they are old enough to vote. The Dallas attorney pointed out that to deny these people the right to vote is "taxation without representation.

Southern Bloc's Last 4 Chips

The much-vaunted reactionary "Southern bloc" in the Senate was able to muster only four votes against confirmation of Henry Wallace as Secretary of Commerce in the final vote on March 1. Eleven Southern senators opposed the nomination when it was first proposed by President Roosevelt. But Wallace's growing popularity with the people of the South and the nation as leader and symbol of the program of full employment and expanding economy caused seven of them to withdraw their opposition. Only one Democrat outside the South voted against Wallace. The four who lined up against the people as usual were McKellar and Stewart of Tennessee, Byrd of Virginia, and Christian America's O'Daniel of Texas.

Blocking The 'Flat Hat'

At historic William and Mary College last month, the student body stoutly defended the cause of free speech and the right of a student editor to her own opinions.

Miss Marilyn Kaemmerle, editor of the campus weekly, "Flat Hat", wrote a Lincoln's birthday editorial entitled "Lincoln's Job Half Done" in which she suggested that at some future time Negroes might enter the college as students, and expressed the belief that lasting world peace could be built on the basis of equality among the world's races. The college board of trustees demanded disciplinary action of President John Pomfret, who immediately suspended the paper, removed Miss Kaemmerle from office and announced that the weekly would be resumed only if the students accepted faculty censorship.

In the resultant furor, the editor's right of expression was upheld by the student body and a portion of the faculty, but tremendous business and political pressure in Virginia forced the students to accept faculty supervision for the paper. Miss Kaemmerle has not been reinstated.

Another County Heard From---

Sen. Hill Says:

"The truth is that the South has a shortage of opportunity. Until that shortage is remedied millions of people will continue to leave the South to find opportunity in other sections of the country, and carry with them an enormous investment in the expenditures that have been made for their food, clothing, shelter and education.

"The South has a continuing stake in freeing private enterprise from the shackles of monopoly restraints, the development of a transportation system that will permit the free flow of goods from region to region, the development of international markets, and a healthy flow of goods between nations. This Nation as a whole has an identical stake if our economy and way of life are to be preserved."

—Sen. Hill of Alabama, speaking to the Senate.

Professor Doble Says:

"To achieve tranquility at the University of Texas, put your mind to sleep, put your conscience to sleep, put all ideas of the right of mankind and of the profound meanings of democracy to sleep. Perfect yourself in the cunning of circumlocution, and prove to farmers out on 40-acre patches that their best friend has always been Wall Street and that their worst enemy is organized labor.

"Never intimate that Capital is organized, and dress up Greed in the verbal clothes of States' Rights . . . roll out pious phrases about the sacred Consti-tu-tion. Keep your head down so that you will not be caught pondering on the motto . . . across the lintel of the university's main building: 'Ye shall know the truth, the truth shall make you free.'"—*Professor J. Frank Dobie, University of Texas.*

Dean Smith Says:

"Whatever you do through labor organization, justice being always preserved, to obtain better wages and working conditions and justice for your members, you are doing God's work. The objects of labor unions with which the church agrees are as follows: a just and living wage, the right to strike as possibly the ultimate means at times to obtain justice, the right to a closed shop as a means of strengthening and protecting the union, an age limit for child labor, and equal pay for equal work, regardless of sex or color."

—Dean Andrew C. Smith, S.J., Springhill College, Molute, Ala.

South Carolina --

(Continued from Page 1.)

The truth must be that the National Democratic Party, for its own reasons, is using its strengthened prestige for reforms in Southern suffrage. Southern politicians may not be entirely aware of what is going out but they are acting neither voluntarily or haphazardly. They are being moved by the political necessities of their national party.

There are good reasons. One is the importance to the Democratic Party for the 1948 elections of the Negro vote in pivotal states, where that vote would like to follow the Party's national policies of enduring peace, full employment and expanding economy, but is alienated from the Democratic label by Southern disfranchisement. Another is the necessity of strengthening and unifying the Democratic Party nationally by electing Representatives and Senators from the South who are in sympathy with the Party program to fill the seats of some of the present incumbents who run as Democrats at home in order to be able to continue voting Republican on Capitol Hill.

This is the key to the new "voluntary" moves toward liberalization of Southern suffrage. The Solid South must be kept solid if the political fate of the national Democratic Party and its Southern leaders is to be assured. Thousands of Southern whites must be enfranchised, and great concessions must be made to Negroes, (including probably at least tacit consent to piecemeal invasion of the white primary.)

The bold action against the poll tax in South Carolina and Georgia constitutes a pattern which is ready for repetition in many fields all over the South—suffrage reforms, wages, fair unemployment practices, Negro citizenship rights. It is for us to search them out and supply whatever added ounce of force may be needed to set them in motion.

—Reprinted from the Labor Journal.

Texas Democratic Leaders Fight Against Outlawing Negro Votes

Anti-democratic efforts to evade the United States Supreme Court's decision outlawing the white primary have made little progress in most Southern states.

Leaders of the Lone-Star State Democratic Party itself have taken the lead to prevent passage of Texas Senate Bill 165 which attempts to evade the white primary decision by divorcing the party election machinery from all state regulation and control. The bill, supported by the Texas Regulars, would permit a return to the old machine system of nominating candidates for office by hand-picked steam roller conventions. Senator J. Franklin Spears is leading the fight against the Bill, which has been sent back to Committee for a public hearing.

At a meeting of the Florida State Democratic Executive Council, Governor Millard F. Caldwell stated that "whether the Supreme Court's decisions are right or wrong, their decisions are the law".

Only in Arkansas, South Carolina and Georgia have the state legislatures taken action to drop all mention of primary regulations from the State laws. **In Georgia, State Senator J. Roy McGinty took the floor in a dramatic plea that the constitutional provisions be kept. "I have full confidence in the judgment of the people, and when I say people, I mean all the people," he said.**

In North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia and Oklahoma, Negroes are permitted to cast Democratic ballots.

Georgia Editor Deeries Evasion of Constitution

From the Macon (Ga.) Daily News

The cynical proposal of Speaker of the Georgia House of Representatives, Roy Harris to circumvent the constitution and the laws in order to preserve the state's white primary, is not a pleasant thing for a good citizen to contemplate.

Last year the supreme court of the United States decided that the exclusion of Negroes from the primaries in Texas was a violation of the 15th amendment to the federal constitution, which provides that the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged on account of race or color.

There can be no doubt in any unprejudiced mind that this decision is right or that it has the same application in Georgia that it has in Texas. In both states there is no two-party system, the primaries are the real elections, and exclusion of Negroes from primaries is meant to be, and is, denial of the right to vote on account of race or color.

Mr. Harris and other southern politicians know this, and their concern is not to abide by the law, but to evade it; not to do right, but to do wrong and get away with it.

No other inference is possible from Harris' explanation of the Georgia scheme to the constitutional amendments committee of the house.

First, he says, it is proposed to eliminate all reference to primaries in the new constitution; this for the purpose of the utmost elasticity in evading whatever decision the supreme court may render in prospective litigation from Georgia.

Then in order to carry out the idea, Mr. Harris reveals, in language that makes Machiavelli look like a piker, what will be done further to nullify any such decision. He says:

"The way we plan to work it we will leave our primary laws intact after removing the constitutional reference, then if at the next primary some Negro carries his troubles to court, we go right on and hold our primary, and by the time he gets a decision it will be too late for him to vote.

If our system is held nonconstitutional at the next session, we will change the law at the next session of the legislature —but only by a period or comma. We will hold our primary just as white as a clean sheet.

If the supreme court invalidates that law too, then we will rewrite it again for the next primary. That will go on ad infinitum!"

Thus no complaint can ever get a decision on the merits. The question is not what or just or decent, or even what a law is. The effort will be solely to evade and circumvent the constitution and the law by a lot of hypocritical shenanigan.

We can't go in this state denying political rights to large parts of the population while we are beating our breasts out about our country's effort to make democracy effective in all the world.

Our lip service to democracy is sheer mockery until we can show enough good faith to observe both in letter and spirit the provisions of the 15th amendment to the constitution of the United States. Whether our politicians know it or not, Georgia is now in the union and the constitution of the United States is the supreme law of the land, including Georgia. The observance of all its provisions is right. And no state or people can go wrong by doing right!

WASHINGTON Is Saying
By Elizabeth Allen

(Continued from Page 1.)

Nearly everyone was delighted to see Henry Wallace finally confirmed as Secretary of Commerce. The morning he was sworn in by Justice Black of Alabama was like a holiday. Mr. Wallace is a great friend of the South and of the Southern people. He both likes and admires us, and wants very much to help us keep what industries have come South during the war, and help the South get more industries after the war.

The battle is still on over Aubrey Williams, and his chances don't look so bright at the moment. The real issue in the campaign against him is that the private power companies know he will extend the rural lines everywhere they are needed, while they want the territory saved for them when they get around to it. Of course, that might be fifty years from now and the people have to live in darkness all that time. Paraphrasing the tories' battlecries of yesteryear—"rum, Romanism and rebellion," the power company spokesmen are using the usual reactionary tactic of obscuring the real issue with cries of "race, radicalism and religion". As the American people become more politically literate, they are beginning to see through the smoke screens that are raised up to hide the real issues.

—Reprinted from Ammunition.

In Congress, the campaign to pass the Anti-Poll-Tax Bill is under way. The first job is to get the Bill from the Judiciary Committee to the floor of the House, by petition. Already over 100 Congressmen have signed Discharge Petition No. 1, but a majority, 218, are needed. Letters and post cards to your Congressmen will do the trick.

The President won a great victory at Yalta in getting the Allies to agree on FREE and secret elections in all the liberated countries. America stands before the world as the champion of the democratic method. We must win the right of FREE and secret elections in the South!

Letters to The PATRIOT

Arkansas Traveler

To the Editor:

I have just returned home from attending the Arkansas State Legislature where we defeated the proposed Enabling Act to the Freedom to Work Amendment sponsored by the "Christian American Bund", and all other legislation directed at labor by that organization. We made a clean sweep of the whole thing, so I doubt if we will be bothered with them in this state in the future, as their contributors got nothing for their money this time, and they spent plenty.

We had a copy of your PATRIOT for December and your articles were helpful. Our Joint Labor Legislative Committee was composed of representatives of the four Railway Brotherhoods and the Legislative Committee of the Arkansas State Federation of Labor. I was the Chairman of the Committee and had wonderful support from my fellow workers.

CHARLES A BOGER,
Fort Smith, Arkansas.

Living Memorials

To the Editor:

In a short time counties, cities and towns will be planning monuments and honors to those who have served these communities in the defense of the Nation. Will they take the form of cold marble or bronze memorials of a past war in shapes of obelisks, tombstones or arches? Those who died that our way of life should survive would have wanted to come back to a country freed from the tragic living conditions of starvation, ignorance, poor housing and poor community resources. In the memorial tributes we raise to them, these ideals eventually can be realized. How much better to memorialize these heroes by erecting and naming after them, memorial hospitals, nursery schools, playfields, playgrounds, gymnasia, libraries, bowling alleys, stadia, swimming pools and in uncountable other ways, **living memorials** that will keep alive and useful the memory of these boys who have paid the supreme sacrifice.

Individuals or communities interested in Living War Memorials can get expert advice and plans by writing to:

Information Service, Office of Community War Services
Social Security Building
Washington 25, D. C.

EDWIN B. HENDERSON,
Falls Church, Virginia.

The Real 'Right To Work'

To the Editor:

During my residence of something more than a year, just past, in eastern Tennessee, I had occasion to visit some of the incompleted TVA dams. It is hardly possible to write of them without devoting a column or two to eulogy of this magnificent work, but in this instance I merely want to tell you about a seventeen-year-old boy at one of the dams.

He was a young Negro, and his job was to stand on the high roadway along which cars of concrete are carried to the cranes, and control the movement of the cranes by hand signaling. Wearing large white gloves, and holding his hands close to each other, he made only the slightest motions, but every time his hands moved an inch or two this way or that, the engineers far above him swung the crane according to his signals, and the huge container of concrete responded far below. Finally it dropped into just the right position and spilled its contents, which were then spread by a group of workmen.

This young chap was so intent on his work that he didn't see anybody. But the engineer who was conducting us around the dam watched him for a few moments and remarked:

"That boy wouldn't trade places with the President of the United States. His job is the biggest thing in the world."

Any young man, regardless of race, would have felt the same way about it. To be able, by a trifling movement of the hands, not only to control a gigantic mechanism, but to convey directions to other men and to have responsibility for the safety of fellow workmen, satisfies some of the deepest cravings in the heart of a human being. The pleasure of this Negro boy was doubled and redoubled by the fact that the satisfaction of his feeling of human dignity was so foreign to his experience elsewhere. He experienced here all that was denied him in his daily life off the job—in his housing, his schooling, his recreation, his right to travel, his relations with men of another race.

The thought I was left with was that he, and other like him, have as good a right as anybody else to do work of which they can be proud, and that once this right is admitted and established, the "race problem" will be so far along on the way to settlement that it will hardly be called a problem.

IRVING BRANT,
Washington, D. C.

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THE SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE

CLARK FOREMAN
President

JAMES A. DOMBROWSKI
Executive Secretary and Editor

From the Southern Press

For Federal Aid

The Asheville, N. C. Citizen

Last night in New York Dr. Frank P. Graham, addressing the Southern Conference for Human Welfare (it was a dinner meeting in honor of Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt), appropriately set forth a program for welfare in the South and throughout the nation.

The President of the State University, who is also a member of the War Labor Board, called for "elimination of freight-rate differentials, reduction of the tariff, elimination of the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting, fair employment practices, federal aid to the states for the public schools without federal control, and federal aid to the states for the construction of local hospitals and rural health centers under a state-wide medical commission."

Federal aid to public schools, without federal control of schools: this is the only sound program for aid in this field.

In the Southern States particularly, Dr. Graham reminds his audience, there are some economic handicaps that ought not to be borne by any region—tariff, freight rates burdening especially the development of new industries for finished articles, a school problem peculiar because of South's larger school population and its lesser wealth.

Federal aid to public health long has been a program cherished by Mr. Roosevelt, and Congressional committees have done no small amount of work on the proposal. It might come into reality in good time to supplement North Carolina's somewhat delayed advance toward expanded medical care for all its people.

South Prospers When All Get Fair Chance, SCHW Tells Senate

The following testimony in support of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission was presented by Dr. Clark Foreman to the Senate Committee on Education and Labor March 13, 1945:

As an organization of more than 3,000 Southern leaders interested in the economic, educational and democratic development of the 13 southern states, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare is concerned with prevalent practices of discrimination in employment.

We recognize that the general welfare of any region depends upon the use that is made of its manpower. We believe that discrimination against any section of the population harms the entire population. Second-class citizenship or caste preferment for jobs is undemocratic and threatens the freedom of all of us.

Welfare of All

We know that the economic prosperity of the south depends upon the economic and educational welfare of its Negro citizens as well as its white citizens. In 1940 there were 9,291,792 in the 13 southern states, representing 25% of our population.

During the war many of our Negro citizens have received a chance to use their full abilities in industrial jobs for the first time. In this same period we have witnessed advancements of from 50 to more than 100% in average per capita income in every southern state. At no other time in history have the southern states been so prosperous and our merchants and small businessmen throughout the South recognize that much of this prosperity is the result of the greater earnings of our Negro citizens. They realize now, as never before, that the prosperity of the South depends directly on the increase in the purchasing power of its people—all of its people.

Out of Proportion

While many thousands of Negroes have found industrial employment in almost every Southern city, there is no city where they have been employed in numbers commensurate with their proportion of the population.

There follow figures showing the percentage of Negro population (1940) in selected Southern cities and the percentage of Negro employment in war industries for these same cities (Nov., 1944):

	Population	Employed
Richmond, Va.	31.7	29.0
Jacksonville, Fla.	35.7	18.3
Fort Worth, Texas	14.2	7.4
New Orleans, La.	30.1	19.7
Birmingham, Ala.	40.7	37.9
Chattanooga, Tenn.	28.4	14.6
Dallas, Texas	17.1	8.0
Houston, Texas	22.4	11.5

Long Way To Go

These figures represent sizable increases over pre-war Negro employment, but the gaps between percentage of employment and population are ample evidence that we do have a long way to go. And though we are thankful for the inroads made on discrimination in hiring, there is still a gigantic task to break down discrimination on the job and in firing. Advancements in position for Negro workers are not guaranteed by the fact of their employment, and protection for them and other minorities will provide a most important function for the proposed Fair Employment Practices Commission.

Nor do the foregoing figures represent all the industries of the South. The greatest of Southern industries—the textile industry—still uses very little Negro manpower and excludes Negroes from skilled jobs. This same industry, it is well to note, has made constant demands on the War Manpower Commission for additional help in the manufacture of its vital goods, while refusing to avail itself of the large reservoir of Negro citizens.

FEPC Is Needed Now

The broad support of business, labor, agriculture, and professional groups for the establishment of a Fair Employment Practices Commission is testimony to the need. **Proposals for additional study and for advisory commissions are subterfuges by those who would retard the economic development of the Nation, divide labor, and hinder the progress of some of our racial and religious minorities.**

A permanent FEPC, guaranteeing equal opportunity for those with equal training and experience, irrespective of race, religion, national origin, creed, and the other qualities which put every American into one or more minority groups, is an important step on the way to genuine equality of opportunity.

Basic Social Security

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare views the establishment of a permanent FEPC as basic social security. It is essential to the security of individuals in racial, religious, and foreign origin groups, and in that it protects our Nation from those practices which foster disunity and hatred, it is a measure for national defense. It is an elemental need if we are to build the economy of the South in accordance with its great natural resources and its wealth of strong manpower.

'THE HOPE OF THE SOUTH'

Excerpts from a speech before the Georgia Academy of Political and Social Sciences by Mark Ethridge, Publisher, Louisville Courier-Journal.

The simple thesis which I want to expound is that the Southern reactionary senators . . . are first, ignoring or violating the will of the people as already expressed; two, that they are voting against the immediate and long-term interests of the South; and three, that their attitude and political philosophy will lead the South further into economic disaster and into a more marked degree of political impotence. I hope to be able to prove that an aggressive liberalism, a disposition to move ahead rather than resist progress, is the only thing that can save the South from a further decline into poverty, illiteracy and backwardness, when the post-war boom is over.

State of the South

Let us face realistically that the South has the nation's most acute race problem; the highest percentage of absentee ownership . . .; the greatest degree of political autarchy, in that only 30 per cent of our people vote as against 77 per cent in the rest of the country; that we have the highest percentage of illiteracy; the highest rate of tenancy; a per capita income 60 per cent of the East's; that we are penalized on freight rates and that our health conditions are the nation's poorest.

If we concede these things, then we must concede that they can not be cured by a static or defensive or a let-us-alone attitude. They must be met by an imagination that encompasses the federal government's helping to balance economy in this country. . . .

People Ahead of Their Leaders

Every Gallup poll that has been taken shows the Southerner much less illiberal than most of his political leaders. It is, moreover, a fact that in no primary and in no election in the South last year in which the New Deal was the issue, did it lose. . .

In Texas, where the revolt centered, the so-called regulars, who had been able to seize the convention, nevertheless got less than 100,000 votes, against 600,000 for the Roosevelt Democrats. There was, as somebody said, much less rabble to rouse than they thought. Martin Dies, Nat Patton and Richard Kleberg went out of the House fighting Roosevelt in Texas; Rayburn, Patman and Lyndon Johnson won easily as straight New Deal proponents. In Mississippi, a quickly summoned legislature quickly beat down the revolt. In Oklahoma, Stigler was reelected and Disney defeated on a straight New Deal issue. In Arkansas the progressives put Fullbright in the Senate and Laney into the governorship.

In Alabama, the reactionaries threw their money and their power at Lister Hill in a tough and bitter campaign and he won. Joe Starnes lost his seat because he was anti-administration. In Florida, Pepper was fought by an articulate, well-financed and powerful Byrd-for-President movement and won handily in a primary against three other candidates. In Georgia the senatorial election went by default, but Arnall expressed the innate liberalism of this state both at Chicago and in his subsequent programs.

Reactionaries Have No Excuse

In South Carolina, "Cotton Ed" Smith was defeated by Olin Johnston, who, with all his faults and prejudices, yet espoused the New Deal cause openly. North Carolina retired Bob Reynolds, and a revolt in his organization troubles Byrd in Virginia. In Tennessee, Priest, Gore and Kefauver, all followers of the President, won against heavy financing and strong opponents. I repeat, **there is nothing in the political history of the South for the past year to give any Southern Senate reactionary the argument that in fighting the administration and all it has stood for, he is expressing the will of the people.** There is no argument, no comfort for him in the primaries of last year. Even with all its voting restrictions, the South votes liberal when the issue is clearly made. One hope we have is that our young men will not have to feel bound to a dead past or subservient to or sympathetic with powerful interests which have been too active and too influential in politics.

Voters See Best Interest

I believe, and I like to believe, that the primaries are a case of the voter's instinct telling him that his best interest lies in the progressive approach to Southern problems—to problems of economics, labor, agriculture, race, education and health and all the other things that concern us—because I believe deeply that in any other approach lies disaster.

In everything I have said about the problems of the South, there is implicit the necessity for a vigorous and progressive approach. But we have not had and do not have that type of approach. . . . Senator George voted against the Wagner Bill to set up low cost housing; he was instrumental in shelving the bill for federal aid to education; Senator George voted against the wages and hours bill; against the anti-labor spy bill; for the ineffectual Smith-Connally Act; for the Social Security freeze, against cloture to bring the poll tax to a vote and against higher taxes on corporations in the last tax bill. Beyond any of that, although the Atlanta Federal Reserve Board said, in effect, that the development of this region must be planned, Senator George was one of those who led the fight in the Senate to kill the National Resources Planning Board. He emerged from that fight as chairman of the Senate's postwar planning committee. If it has done any planning, I am not aware of it.

Picture of a Southern Tory

I am not singling out Senator George for any sinister purpose. I am giving you the picture of any Southern reactionary—of Senator Byrd, of Senator Bailey, of Senator McKellar. The hope of the South does not lie in men like that. They do not represent what its people are thinking and they do not dare advocate the extension of democracy and take their chances on what the people are thinking. . . . The Southern tory is the most reactionary man in America; he adds to his economic bourbonism a dismaying cynicism toward civil rights and the democratic process. . . .

The hope of the South is in men like Wallace who are ready to fight the centralization which has been a curse to all sections of this country except the East; who are ready to use the credit and resources of this country to develop still more resources in the regions. It lies in governors like Arnall, who is willing to fight in the Supreme Court, in the legislature and before the people for his convictions and his section; in senators like Pepper and Hill, who are willing to carry the fight against reaction, and in a dozen young congressmen from the South who have broken through the domination of political machines and won by direct appeal to their people. The people have demonstrated that they are eager for that leadership.

Government of You, By Us, For . . . ?

The Charleston, (S. C.) News and Courier has been busy thinking up new suggestions for the welfare of our country. We quote its latest effort; entitled "The Only Intelligent Course"; "The constitution of South Carolina should be amended to abolish universal suffrage, **to abolish democracy,** in order that voting be confined to persons who are in fact qualified by possession of property worth $500 and (or) the possession of other evidences of competency to cast an intelligent ballot."

The Patriot Salutes Clark Foreman

By Mary Braggiotti

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"It's much easier for people to see that their investments are menaced than that democracy is menaced."

This bit of cynicism was tossed off by Dr. Clark Howell Foreman in his high-ceilinged, temporary office in the Murray Hill Hotel yesterday. Dr. Foreman, a Georgian born and bred, is president of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which is sponsoring a bang-up dinner at the Hotel Commodore Tuesday evening, with Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt as guest of honor.

It will be the first time that the Conference, initiator in 1938 of the first federal action on the abolition of the poll tax, has ventured north of Washington. Dr. Foreman, in dulcet Atlanta accents modified by a considerable amount of time spent above the Mason-Dixon line and in Europe, explained why his organization is finally invading the North.

Sees South's Progressives Left to Shift for Selves

"The reactionaries of the North have no hesitation in helping the reactionaries of the South," he said, "but the progressives of the North leave the progressives of the South to shift for themselves.

"The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was first called in 1938 as an answer to the National Emergency Council's report on the economic conditions of the South." (Dr. Foreman, then state director for Georgia of the NEC, was initiator and editor of that report.) "You'll remember that at that time President Roosevelt called the South the nation's number one economic problem. The Conference immediately initiated a program of full employment and full civil rights for all citizens, white and Negro.

"The people of the South are progressively minded," he went on after time out to light a precious cigaret, "but they've been too often double-crossed in their leadership. They elect a man on a progressive platform and when he gets in he turns out to be the same old conservative. If the South has the chance to reach the economic level of the rest of the country, most of its problems—which spring from the fact that the average cash income is less than one-half that of the rest of the country—will disappear."

Dr. Foreman feels the Conference has made substantial progress since its first meeting in Birmingham, Ala. It has held two biennial meetings since then. In 1938 the late Congressman Lee Geyer of California introduced the first anti-poll tax bill in Congress, with "This bill is introduced at the request of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare" written into it.

The Civil Rights Committee, which started the poll tax fight as part of the Conference, has now sprouted into the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax. A recent triumph was Georgia's abolition of the poll tax a few weeks ago.

His Grandfather Editor of Atlanta Constitution

Clark Foreman was born in Atlanta in 1902, the third of four brothers. His father was a business man, his grandfather editor of the Atlanta Constitution. Both his grandfathers, he stated without allowing too much pride to betray itself in his voice, fought in the Confederate Army.

Foreman believes it was a lynching he saw during his under-graduate days at the University of Georgia that first made him vividly conscious of the South's dire problems.

"I was terribly shocked," he remarked, "but I didn't think there was anything I could do about it."

By one of those curious turns of fate, he didn't find out that he could do something about it until several years later

—Photo by John DeBiase, Reprinted by permission of PM.

on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean. He was graduated from the University of Georgia at 19, then went to Harvard for a year, which he followed up with a year at the London School of Economics.

He Became Secretary of Georgia Committee

"In London," he said, "I was given a book to review for the college paper. It was Christianity and the Race Problem, by G. H. Oldham, and it described the work of the Inter-Racial Commission in Atlanta. When I read about the Commission I decided I'd like to come back and get a job with it."

And that's exactly what he did—after a year's travel in Europe, during which he spent an interval teaching school in Germany.

His subsequent career included responsible positions with the Phelps-Stokes Fund and the Julius Rosenwald Fund, in both of which he was concerned with educational work in the South. In the late 1920's he won his M. A. at Columbia University and in 1932 his Ph.D. at Columbia's Faculty of Political Science. After another year in Europe he came back and wrote a book, "The New Internationalism." He has co-authored two more books, "The Consumer Seeks a Way" (1934), and "Total Defense" (1940).

On his return to America in 1933 he became advisor on race problems to Secretary Ickes—and is proud that he had what he believes was the first Negro secretary in Washington. In 1935 Ickes appointed him director of the Power Division of the Public Works Administration and after five years of that he became director of Defense Housing for the Federal Works Agency.

He has been president of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare since 1942, and, since last June, secretary of the National Citizens' Political Action Committee.

Early in the war Foreman spent eight months in England on a special mission for the Navy. He wasn't permitted to join the Navy and wear a uniform, he explained with a grin, because he's color blind—but literally.